1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
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direct with Zaria.) The Makama of Zaria was the Kauru "intermediary" (*kofa*), and the Galadiman Makama used to accompany the chief of Kauru on his annual visit to Zangon Katab, when tribute, in the form of slaves, was collected town by town. The Katab were not always, however, under control and would, on occasion, unite to drive the chief of Kauru out of Zangon Katab and pillage the Hausa inhabitants. Occurrences such as this were exceptional, for it was admitted that normally all Katab who committed serious offences were sent to Kauru to be sold into slavery. Thus one guilty of murder or burglary was dispatched to Kauru. He might be ransomed by his relatives, but as the ransom for a murderer was four slaves, the relatives seldom exercised the privilege. Minor offences could be dealt with locally. A small theft committed by a fellow clansman would be dealt with privately, the thief receiving a thrashing and being made to restore the stolen property. Or he might be haled before the sub-clan chief and elders (the elders generally acquiescing in the decision of the chief). The thief would be made to restore the stolen property and be mulcted in a fine, two-thirds of which would go to the complainant, the remaining one-third being divided among the chief and elders. An adulterer would also be haled before the chief and fined; but if he was a fellow clansman the injured husband would say nothing beyond abusing his wife. Disputes as to the paternity of children were determined by the administration of sass-wood to chickens representing the contending parties. Those charged with witchcraft were required to drink the sass-wood personally; but the permission of the sub-clan head had to be obtained before trials by ordeal could be held. Owing to the custom of contracting sub-marriages, disputes as to the paternity of children were, and still are, of daily occurrence. The complainant (the prior husband) went with the elders of his town to the town of his former wife's parents. The new husband also appeared, accompanied by his elders, and the matter was threshed out before the seniors of all three villages, the protagonists being the woman and her former husband. If the matter could not be decided the late husband and the new husband each produced a chicken and sass-wood was administered. The case was decided in favour of the man whose chicken survived.

This question of the contraction of sub-marriages and the

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likely to embroil him with his fellow-clansmen. His position was never so strong that he could call on his clansmen to perform such personal services as the repair of his house or the clearing of his farm.

The position of the village-head was even more unenviable. It was his business to apportion the tax, which might be a horse or slave, or several, according to the size of the village. To obtain this he called on each householder to provide as much corn or cash as would suffice to buy the slave required. He had to arrest criminals and send them to Kauru. But apart from these imposed duties he was careful to mind his own business. Any excessive zeal would be rewarded by an arrow. The Katab was quick to seize his bow even against his nearest relatives, and it was not uncommon for a village-head to take refuge in Kauru until the anger of his fellow-villagers had subsided.

It would appear that in the early days the Aswen sub-clan was recognized as the senior Katab clan, the chief of Aswen receiving an acknowledgment of his position in the form of the forelegs of larger game killed. But in later times the sub-clan of Fakan assumed the rôle formerly held by Aswen. Fakan, however, was merely *primus inter pares*. If one sub-clan had a dispute with another the matter was referred to a disinterested group. Thus, if the Agbat had a dispute with the Aswen, the Fakan sub-clan was called in as an intermediary. If Fakan had a dispute with Nje, the Aswen clan was asked to adjudicate, and so on.

The present position is that the Katab (with the Ikulu and Kaje) are administered from Zaria by a resident district headman with the title of Katuka, who is directly responsible to the Emir of Zaria. The sub-clan and clan headman have no executive authority outside the limits of their own village-areas, but they combine to form a native court which sits monthly at each of the sub-clan headquarters, the chief of the sub-clan Aswen being at the moment president of the court. The sub-clan and elders also, in accordance with native custom, form a deliberative assembly, and I witnessed a meeting of this assembly which had been convened to discuss certain matters referred to them by the district headman. The Magajin Mugu of the Aswen sub-clan spoke first, and was followed in turn by the other sub-clan headmen. As each finished speaking the most senior men

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these imposed duties " he was careful to mind his own business. Any excessive zeal would be rewarded with an arrow."

Under British Administration the system has altered considerably (quite apart from the prohibition of slavery). The Katuka, living permanently at Zangon Katab, is directly responsible to the Emir; the Katab tribal area has been divided, presumably on a strictly territorial basis, into seven Village-areas, and while the headmen of six of these seem to be " heirs " of the former heads of the sub-clans and small clans, it should be noted that the old Aswen administrative unit has apparently undergone fission, and a new, seventh, head has been created, on a basis as yet unknown.

The Katuka is said to have bowed to tradition in the matter of ceremonial and procured two swords of Prussian manufacture from Kauru, which are used in the installation of Village-area headmen in certain cases; here again, the available materials are difficult to interpret, but it seems that although the Katab have never had a tribal chief recognizable as such, Minyam clan appears to occupy a prominent position, presumably as a result of which the Katuka has " issued " the ceremonial swords to the heads of Aswen and Fakan, who, according to Meek, " use the swords for swearing-in minor officials " of those two sub-clans only.[33]

Meek states further that the sub-clan and clan headmen " combine to form a native court which sits monthly at each of the sub-clan headquarters." The sub-clan [sic: head?] and elders also, form a deliberative assembly. Oaths were most frequently resorted to in cases of paternity, failure to settle which, by arbitration, might end in the administration of poison to fowls representing the parties to the dispute. A women may take an oath on her head-board, " May I die in childbirth if I lie! ". Traditionally, cases within a lineage of virtually any sort, with the possible exception of murder and theft, which are likely to have been very rare, were handled by the lineage heads. Within the sub-clan cases appear to have been settled by arbitration, perhaps by a disinterested lineage head. In inter-clan disputes it seems that another clan or sub-clan might adjudicate, but the position is not entirely clear.

Inheritance

In general " a man's property and titles pass to his sons or paternal nephews, brothers or paternal cousins," but Meek records exceptional cases where a sister's son received a share of the property of the deceased, and a man inherited from his maternal grandfather's widow. Females do not inherit from males, husbands from wives, parents from children, or grandchildren from grandparents, other than wives, as indicated already. Succession is by preference first to collaterals; inheritance equally to adult lineal descendants (sons).

The Life Cycle

Birth

To celebrate the first conception of a (married) woman, a " beer-feast " is held by the prospective father " for all his own and his wife's relatives." In general there are no religious observances in connection with pregnancy, however, though a specialist may be called in to administer " medicine " from time to time. The mother is delivered—sitting on her head-board—in her husband's compound,

Nigeria). It appears that the Katab occasionally rallied " to drive the chief of Kauru out of Zangon Katab and pillage the Hausa inhabitants", but their relationship with Kauru may well have been to some extent voluntary, as it enabled them to dispose of murderers, thieves, and possibly certain other kinds of criminals also. Whether these criminals were in effect deducted from their annual dues is not clear, but it seems unlikely.

[33] On the other hand, Meek adds that " no village headman would feel that he had been properly appointed if he had not been shown the sword," so that it seems possible that between them the heads of Aswen and Fakan may play an important part in confirming all the Village-area heads of the Katab tribe.

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graphy, who is apparently particular to the senior *kwai* (and lineage) in each village. On the other hand, the priestly titles of *tenci* (pl.? *tienci*) and *tu* (or *titu*) *obwai* pertain to every *kwai;* of these the *tienci* of a village are graded according to the seniority of their respective *kwai*, and the *tenci* of the *tienwhop's kwai* serves also as the *tenci* of the village; but the *obwai* priests appear to be essentially equals, though the position is not entirely clear. Each lineage of a *kwai* has a titled head (*niewhop*), and these heads, again, are graded according to seniority.[78]

The *tienwhop* appears to be a fertility priest, essentially, and the *tienci*, hunting priests, with a unique reciprocal relationship between the *tienwhop* and the village *tenci*, implied in Smith's account of their functions and dues. According to Smith, the *tienwhop* "performed the ritual (*ci*) for health and prosperity," for which grain was collected from Kpashan only by the senior resident Kpashan clan and given to the *tenci* of the community; the *tenci* was in charge of village hunting (and head-hunting) ritual, but the *tienwhop* received "one hind-leg of every dwarf buffalo slain in the area under his ritual control."[79]

Terminological confusion obscures the role of the *tienwhop* in the village court, but it appears that he presides over "the traditional village court of priests and elders" when the charge is "ritual" offence; otherwise, "the Village Chief" (*agwom*, presumably) exercises a *de facto* jurisdiction within his Village-area, particularly with regard to cases of paternity and secondary marriage. In the past, disputes between lineages were settled by the clan heads (*niewhop* and *tienci*, apparently), and when clans of a village clashed agreement might be reached between the clan heads concerned without mediation; similarly the *tienwhop* "terminated" feuds between villages and wars with neighbouring tribes.

Limited warfare was a condition between lineages, *kwai* (even of the same *bin*) and villages, before Administration. Disputes over economic trees are said to have been frequent. Boundary disputes were formerly among the chief occasions of inter-village fighting, and occurred in a context of mutual hostility, closely associated with wife-abduction, and with sympathetic relations between villages sharing hostility towards the same community. It is noteworthy that moiety affiliation plays no part in inter-community disputes of any kind. Possibly until Administration, disasters afflicting the whole tribe such as locusts, smallpox, etc., were occasions for the assembly of all adult males by the three *tienwhop* of Zafan, Mingio, and Atswan. According to Smith these three are generally conceded by Kagoro to be senior, though there is some disagreement as to which is paramount. It would appear, however, that in the only traditional tribe-wide institution of which any account is available at present, i.e., in the tribal hunting rites, Zafan occupies the supreme position.

Hunting is still an important source of meat as well as of prestige and is an activity of clan groups closely linked with ritual. Rights to hunt in clearly specified areas are the property of the clan of the man who first marked out the area publicly for hunting. With few exceptions these areas lie in the Village-area of the clan, have clearly known boundaries and names, and do not interfere with the rights of other persons to farm in the area. The Rock itself is the common hunting ground of the tribe and no clan hunting areas are found there.

The season is opened annually in January or December by the taking of auguries by the Kumat lineage of Mungwop clan from a sacred cave at the base of the Rock. After prayers and a ritual beer drink the day for starting the hunt is fixed. On the day appointed the *tenci* of Zafan sets fire to the Rock, and this is done by every village at the base in turn. Then all the males of each community move up the Rock behind the fire, shooting the animals. The Rock hunt is followed by

[78] Niewhop (niehwop?), rendered Meakwap by Temple, and translated "high priest." Smith's account of the *niewhop*, his precise rights and duties, and the relationship between the *niewhop* and *tienwhop* of a village is somewhat confusing. Reynolds' analysis of Kaje titles cognate with Kagoro may be examined to some advantage, farther below, p. 108.

[79] It is to be presumed that *tienwhop* and *tenci* of the village are invariably separate persons, but this is not explicitly stated.

The Katuka has administrative, but not judicial functions. In the normal course of events his duties are limited to the collection of taxes, and the installation of hamlet-heads (Village-area heads are installed by the Emir). The Wakili in general simply relays instructions to Village-area heads from the Katuka; the official scribe is in charge of the tax census of the area. 631

The post of Village-area head (Magaji) is a new one, dating from the time of the transfer of certain Kaje villages from Jema'a to Zaria. The Magaji transmits instructions from the Katuka to the hamlet-heads of his area. He has his own police force, and several titled messengers. Judicially, also, he has some authority, can settle minor disputes and inflict small fines. Further, disputes between members of any single hamlet in his area may be brought before him when the hamlet-head concerned is unable himself to effect a settlement. If similar difficulties arose between two Village-areas both Magadai concerned would meet and attempt to reach a friendly settlement: if their efforts failed, the matter would then be brought to the tribal court, of which all Magadai are members, three constituting a quorum: appeal from the tribal court lies with the Emir. It is said, however, that in relation with the hamlet-heads the authority of the Magaji is recognized but limited. He can exert authority only through them (outside his own personal hamlet) and will take no part in the collection of tax in their areas. 622 692

Major emphasis is laid on the duties of the hamlet-head as collector of taxes, a percentage of which he receives. He is also responsible for seeing that public works are performed within his own area. As suggested above, he also has certain judicial functions, particularly in secondary marriage, where he takes the girl and her father to the magaji, when *idda* begins and also when it ends.[111] For this he is given approximately five shillings.

The Madaki may be characterized as a lesser edition of the hamlet-head. 623

According to Reynolds: " None of these civil heads has a recognized council, but all informally consult with influential elders and senior relatives, particularly in affairs concerning tribal custom, when disputes arise: as will be seen, this is less surprising when it is learned that local groupings of all sorts are also kinship groupings, as a general rule."

As already indicated, the " tribal sections " or clans are localized (see table, above). These are segmented into a number of successively smaller, less comprehensive lineage groups, down to the " minimal lineage ", the extended family inhabiting a single compound: all these likewise constitute local groups, the lineage of second order (" major lineage ") generally occupying a single village or hamlet (and being most often the exogamous unit), and that of the third order (" minor "), a ward. Thus, it will be seen that the Village-area head is the organ of a body of kinsmen, and the hamlet-head one of a still more tightly knit group, closely related to all his ward heads within the hamlet. 614 621 613

Fusion as well as fission, however, occurs among Kaje as among Kagoro; immigrant lineages are reported assimilated to lineages traditionally " of one language," maintaining in effect a kinship relationship alongside a local relationship and a tradition of alien origins. 613

Before conquest by Kajuru and/or Fulani, the effective grouping in Kaje society seems to have been the clan, as a " maximal lineage ", authority in which was vested in the *atiyinhwap*, or approximately " father of the group " (cf. Kagoro, above), still recognized as a ritual authority and held to be directly descended from the founding ancestor through primogeniture. His position normally passes from father to son or from elder brother to younger. If the latter, the son of the elder brother would inherit the position on the younger brother's death. The *atiyinhwap* is the final authority in all matters concerning the welfare of the lineage, offences involving mystical sanctions, rites for fertility and rain or for warding off death and disease. After he has spoken, nobody would dare to disobey for fear of incurring mystical retribution. Similarly, within the major lineages which compose the clan 614 613

[111] Re *idda*, see Kagoro, p. 100, above.

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38
Jaba

SOCIAL STRUCTURE: LOCAL ORGANS OF AUTHORITY

631 At the time of the transfer of Jaba District from Jema'a Division to Zaria Province, in 1934, it was stated that the District comprised "27 villages[135] whose heads are directly responsible to the Pop Ham [chief of Jaba]," a situation comparable to that seen in Moroa; a current list of Village-areas was not accessible in Zaria, but various reports suggest the possibility that a smaller number has emerged in recent years as a result of reorganization.

621 According to Meek, the village constitutes the group within which a man may not seek a secondary wife. He indicates that there are further administrative and social sub-divisions, "wards" (=hamlets? cf. Kagoro, farther above), these being 582 exogamous as well as local groupings; but Cole stresses the fact that "kindreds" (that is, kinship groupings of the largest scale) are dispersed among two or more villages (perhaps sometimes not even contiguous), as a general rule.

621 A report made in 1933 by Barnicot states that in Kachia District Jaba are divided into five "clans" and "six Village-areas." In 1949 Cole gives five Village-areas, each equated with a "kindred." What order of kinship grouping the hamlet constitutes in Kachia is not known.

In Kagarko District, Jaba are found in three Village-areas dominated by other tribal groups; in Yeskwa they are settled with Yeskwa in two Village-areas. In Kagoma-Yeskwa District of Jema'a Emirate (Plateau Province), Kano, Kirti, and Kusan are currently identified by Administration as Jaba; they are separated from Jaba District of Zaria by Kagoma tribal settlement, and it is noteworthy that until 1934, at least, and possibly even more recently, these same villages were labelled Kagoma by all investigators.

692 A Jaba tribal court was organized in Jaba District in 1935, and appears to have been designed to serve the entire Jaba community of Zaria Province, both in and out of the Emirate; but data from Kachia District indicate that Jaba there may have recourse to the local Native Court (Kadara-Kuturmi), on which elders representing all clans of Kachia Jaba sit. On the other hand, decisions taken in Jema'a Emirate with respect to Jaba there are known to have been reversed in conformity with advice given by Pop Ham.

LIFE CYCLE

Birth

775 According to Temple, "the Jaba believe that the souls of the dead can enter the womb of a living woman and be reborn" (but see also *Religious Beliefs*, below). 844 At birth the mother and child are bathed in cold water. On the fourth day the child 553 is taken from its mother's hut and named (by the father if a boy, the mother if a girl) in the presence of the women of the compound. Twins, however, are not named till the seventh day, when elders of the village—and so, presumably, of the large-scale kinship unit—meet to perform the ceremony and partake of a feast provided by the father.

584 Temple states that a girl is betrothed at birth, claimed by right by the first eligible man to see her (cf. Katab and Kaje).

Initiation

[304] It is not stated whether circumcision is in fact a practice of Jaba: Meek states 881 only that "initiation rites . . . have no connection with circumcision." Initiation of boys takes place between their ninth and eleventh years. A boy's maternal uncle acts as his sponsor, providing "the preliminary fee of one chicken": Meek fails to indicate, however, whether initiation in effect unites the tribe, at Kwoi, perhaps, or

[135] A total of 27 villages in the District is listed in the Village Directory of the 1931 Census; three of these are recognized by Administration as Lungu. The largest are: Chori (2,219), Kwai (Kwoi) (3,700), Nok (1,080), Samban Gida (1,043).

3:Temple G-4 (no date)1922 FF38 Katab FF38
Kaje

Their first acquaintance with the Filane was when some settlers of that race came to their country at Kachicharri and paid certain irregular tribute of cattle to the Kaje.

At the outbreak of the Jihad, however, they were invaded by the Filane who came and settled near Mount Daroro. The Kaje decided to wipe them all out, but the plot was betrayed by the Filane concubine of Sarkin Indema and her compatriots escaped. She, herself, suffered condign punishment, being thrown into a hole which was filled up with stones and she was thus buried alive.

When the Filane settled at Jemaa in the same neighbourhood, the Kaje again tried to turn them out, circ. 1812 A.D., but were ultimately defeated—some of them fled into Zaria Province, and the main body to Sanga, south-east of Jemaa.

The Kaje were situated on both sides of the Zaria-Nassarawa boundary when the Filane Emir of Zaria, Abdul Karimi, circ. 1835 A.D., sent a force against them at their principal town of Kurmin Bi, to exact tribute. An arrangement was come to, but circ. 1849 Mohman Sani, then Emir of Zaria, led a punitive expedition against them and told the southern section to follow the Sarkin Jemaa, since which time they have had no recognised tribal Chief. In 1858 they were again recalcitrant and Audu, Emir of Zaria, finally broke them. Since 1870 the Jemaa Kaje have been ruled, nominally at least, by Jekada from Jemaa, and in 1912 they were induced to acknowledge the practical suzerainty of the Sarkin Jemaa and accepted, as District head, Liman Umoru, a Filane of Jemaa.

In old days each village was governed by a council of Elders and an hereditary village Chief. This office was, however, usually vacated after a few years, the Chief nominating the most capable member of his family to be his successor and himself retiring to a seat on the council. An office bearer called Tagama (Magajin Mutua) judged all disputes and apportioned farm-lands, to which the occupant and his heirs had exclusive right so long as the land was cultivated. It was not uncommon, however, for the occupant to lease his land, practically as a matter of goodwill, for he only received a pot of beer, which lease was terminable by either party after the dawa harvest; no woman might hold land.

There was a regular system of punishment of crime, but there were only three legal offences: Theft from a storehouse, murder and adultery. The two latter were alike punishable by death or by banishment.

A thief's family paid a horse to the village head, who was the judge in all judicial affairs.

A murderer was expelled from the village for two years; he was sent first to Kurmin Bi, thence to Sakwot, thence to Fadan Kagoma, where he worked on the Kogoma farms. He